The

COMMONWEAL

A Weekly Review of Literature the Arts and Public Affairs

FOUNDED BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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Birthday Gift

IT TOOK an encyclical to make most of us realize that this is the sesquicentennial of the establishment of the hierarchy of the United States. Perhaps it is, as Pius XII put it, because we are a "youthfully vigorous" people that we are inclined to neglect such anniversaries. The Pope properly reminds us of the part the Church has played in our national drama. What he says of the schools, of marriage and divorce are what we would expect from the supreme moral teaching authority of the Church; the justice of the strictures is not affected by repetition. The encyclical does not overlook the Negro or labor unions: "We confess that we feel a special paternal affection, which is certainly inspired of heaven, for the Negro people dwelling among you; for in the field of religion and education we know that they need special care and comfort and are very deserving of it. We therefore invoke an abundance of heavenly blessing and we pray fruitful success for those whose generous zeal is devoted to their welfare." . . . "Because sociability is one of man's natural requirements and since it is legitimate to promote by common effort decent livelihood it is not possible without injustice to deny or to limit either to the producers or to the laboring and farming classes the free faculty of uniting in associations by means of which they may defend their proper rights and secure the betterment of the goods of soul and of body as well as the honest comforts of life. . . . But let the unions in question draw their vital force from principles of wholesome liberty. Let them take their form from them, take their form from the lofty rules of justice and of honesty, and conforming themselves to those norms let them act in such a manner that in their care for the interests of their class they violate no one's rights: let them continue to strive for harmony and respect the commonweal of civil society."

Theirs Is the Kingdom

Growing Sentiment for World Federation

IN THE BALKANS intense national rivalries are apparently being set aside to meet the threat of an even greater menace. A number of observers seem to think that a fairly solid Balkan neutral bloc under Italo-Turkish leadership is actually in process of formation. On a larger scale war in Poland and the tragic dimensions foreseen for a total war waged by the western powers are strengthening the demand of many peoples for some sort of worldwide organization. The joint letter of four midwestern professors in last Sunday's New York *Times* cites the parallel conclusions of our well-endowed peace foundations. Lord Lothian declared in an Armistice Day address that such a federation is essential for the liberty of the individual as well as for the freedom of races and peoples. In a letter published elsewhere in this issue Jacques Maritain assumes that when the war is over "Europe will be led to adopt a federal structure." Unhappily no such aspirations from Germany or Russia appear to have reached the American press. And Colonel Knox seems to ignore the direction of American interests and the interdependence of all nations when he advocates separate American, European and Asiatic federations. There are bound to be dissenting notes. Pope Pius recently described the world federation that should be established as one that "will respect the rights of God, assure the mutual independence of large and small peoples, impose fidelity to treaties loyally agreed upon and safeguard the health, the liberty and the dignity of the human person in the effort of each toward the prosperity of all."

The Goal and the Approach

If this is so widely recognized as the goal, how can the peoples of the world manage to attain it? France and Britain would have us believe that the means is smashing Hitler and bringing Germany

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to her knees, and they seem to have very little to say about Russia. But is a dictated peace a promising method of inaugurating a sound international federation? A freely negotiated peace offers the only sound hope. The form of such an organization presents another difficulty, for one of the greatest weaknesses of peace leagues from the Holy Alliance to the League of Nations has been the stress laid on similarity of national outlooks and political forms. And yet the federation cannot be too loose, the aims of its members too disparate. There are many other difficulties, but the need is great and much practical international experience is at hand. Meanwhile there must be more and more attempts at mediation. The mediators themselves, although neutral in the present conflict, will be more warmly welcomed if they have something of their own to offer the disputants. That is why a well-conceived and well-timed proposal by the United States might spare the peoples of Europe and the world the holocaust that is preparing and mark the beginning of a new era of international collaboration.

Separation and/or Toleration

Mr. Browder and Caesar

THIS FALL has seen some fine sea changes in the Communist Party line, a series which seems to end up in a return to the blood and thunder revolutionism of the good old days before the Trojan Horse. That quadruped had produced an anomalous attitude of respect for Pius XI which it seems Pius XII is not to share. Mr. Browder doesn't like the first encyclical. He says it attacks a fundamental doctrine of the American tradition — the separation of Church and State. Now there is a very real issue in this matter of Caesar and God; one might almost say that it is the fundamental, recurring issue in Western civilization. For the principle is easy enough; the text seems crystal clear. It is when you begin to apply it that trouble comes, and naturally both Church and State have, in history, helped make the trouble. The Pope's position also seems clear enough. The Pope reiterates in another form a simple principle: that you can't have separation of two things by destroying one of them, by denying it its proper sphere of influence. The Church is and must be concerned with morals; Christians insist that the State must be bound by moral law. The State, then, should look to the Church in so far as the supernatural principles of morality are concerned, though it must also look to philosophy, to natural law. The Pope attacks the recurring tendency to make the State the final arbiter in all things, the principle which was established in almost all human minds in the days when a refused pinch of incense brought martyrdom. He is profoundly defending the very thing which Mr. Browder accuses him of attacking.

It was the great political contribution of Christianity to declare Church and State separate on principle. No other religion ever did that. Toleration had existed before, exists now in non-Christian lands. But toleration is not the same as a principle of separateness between the things of God and the things of Caesar. Mr. Browder doesn't really want a separate Church and State; he wants all State and no Church. That is why he could never agree with any Pope on that issue. But he evidently confuses the issue with that of toleration, which in a country of such diverse beliefs as ours is a civic necessity, in order to avoid a greater evil — dissension, a necessity fully admitted in Catholic thought, e.g., by Saint Thomas. The system which Mr. Browder advocates is certainly not noted for its toleration of dissident views, once it is in power. Altogether one cannot help feeling that Mr. Browder got into the wrong pew altogether when he began defending the separation of Church and State.

Threatened Strike in the Protectorate

Latest Chapter

THE NEWS which from time to time becomes available regarding the Bohemian-Moravian protectorate in what was recently a large part of the republic of Czechoslovakia is a little like a section of a serialized mystery. Each fresh chapter tells something definite, and invites wide speculation on what is to come; but between chapters, the blank is very real. It seems to be established that the Czechs are not accepting conquest, but are resisting it in their own way—a way which, as yet, has not mounted to armed insurgency. Those who know them best expect such a revolt when it has had time to ripen; but as far as can be judged through a very opaque veil of censorship, that stage has not yet been reached. Protests take the form of localized boycotts, songs and jokes about the conquerors, quiet but real opposition to the Germanization of street names, etc. In the recent celebration of Czech Independence Day, this spirit further showed itself by patriotic meetings, though these had been banned in advance, and by wholesale absences from work, though these had been expressly condemned as sabotage, punishable under German military law. A large number of arrests followed: the sequel comes in the current news that Czech workers have served notice on the protectorate authorities of a forthcoming general strike unless these prisoners are released. Such a strike would be a practical embarrassment to Germany, as a considerable amount of war production goes on in Czech factories. It would do even more damage to her prestige as a conqueror. On the other hand, the Czechs are evidently united behind their demand, and cannot have made their threat without counting the cost.

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Plane Industry Expansion

IN THESE COLUMNS last week it was recorded that Army and Navy air officials were encouraging plane exports to warring powers as a means of stepping up American plane production for national defense. Since then the picture has somewhat expanded. It seems that the officials are also eager to give current American models the test of actual combat. They want the benefits of price reduction possible through larger production. And results at the testing fields indicate, anyway, that we can now produce much speeder, stronger and more devastating combat ships than the models that will now satisfy French and British purchasers. There seems to be no hitch with the Army and Navy. The manufacturers have already increased their floor space by about one-fifth. They expect to step up production by putting their plants on three shifts a day, by concentrating in each plant on a single model and by contracting with other manufacturers to produce many parts. The chief obstacles seem to be the lack of skilled workmen and the difficulty in keeping up the supply of motors, propellers and certain essential instruments. The United States appears all set to become an arsenal for French and British air weapons. Such a function is bound to be short-lived, and no domestic peace-time requirements can be expected to engage such expanded production facilities. And what form can we expect that German efforts to prevent the delivery of these weapons will take?

15,000 a Year

Union Activity: Negative and Positive

THE VAGUE AND GENERALIZED objection to unions which carries most weight upon analysis is that they act negatively. Their publicized activities are mostly concerned with contests: fights about wages, recognition and all the rest. Everyone agrees that unions should do constructive work, that they should work for social betterment, more reasonable production, domestic harmony. Just what are they supposed to do? In the lingering Chrysler dispute one of the union objectives is a better means of "arbitration." Although it has been fairly snowed under other points, this arbitration involves something new and not negative: "the difficult task of setting a production-measuring method acceptable to both labor and management." The Chrysler Company has publicized the outcry against this new demand sounding out of editorial pages from coast to coast. Editorial writers seem too willing to denounce the negative aspects of unionism and then denounce the efforts of a union to operate positively in the productive work of industry. Workers must be interested and active in administering production and business policy before they can collaborate to any positive extent. The actual assembly line or factory floor seems obviously the first place a worker's experience and talents can help. General Electric recently announced that since 1919, 300,000 suggestions have been made by employees, 75,000 of which have been adopted. In twenty years the company paid over $1,000,000 for these suggestions in awards ranging up to $1,500. And lately the trend of suggestions, adoptions and awards is upwards. Perhaps the approach here is somewhat too individualistic, but it does furnish a case history of worker participation in the creative process of industry which ought to make editorial writers, as well as unions and managers, stop and think.

Chrysler Strike

Prelude to Antarctica

HUMANITY at large confesses to a difficulty in getting nearer to the heart's desire; and judging from the newspapers, Admiral Byrd is no exception. The heart's desire, for him, is presumably Antarctica; the poet Coleridge found little comfort in its waters, but as has often been observed, it's a mercy we're not all alike, and there is no doubt that the admiral feels at home there. And now that his natural preference has been reinforced, so to speak, by the order of the government directing him to go back and make good the American claims, it is an interesting study in the perverseness of events that he should be slowed up by things as diverse as penguins and tractors. The penguins were a relic of the previous sojourn in the polar south, and following the sound rule that bids us to be off with the old before we are on with the new, the admiral advertised for good homes for them before he once more set sail. The result is, of course, history. People came from far and near, with crates and trucks; telephoned, telegraphed and wrote; preparations for the trip had to be temporarily suspended while the penguin-hungry populace was dealt with—mostly by the firm and tactful explanation that the penguins had to be paid for, and handsomely, before being carted away. Then there was the snow tractor: especially designed for the expedition; it looks in photographs as if it could take in the whole Antarctic at a gulp. It is said to weigh twenty-seven tons, and has been indeed acting up to that weight. Coming east from Chicago to Boston, it has generally secured an even wider berth than its dimensions warrant: assaulted bridges, chewed up the countryside, held up traffic as if it were an entire army, and in one spot created a jam almost a hundred miles long. What it will do now they have got it on board before they get it off again defies conjecture; but if it can be coaxed or coerced into the Antarctic, the whole place should soon be ours.

Penguins and Tractors

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Town and Country Face to Face

England moves its city children to the country—with varied results

By John Cabot

IN A recent issue of THE COMMONWEAL an editorial note commented on the possibility of the official partial evacuation of many British industrial towns giving an "impetus toward actual decentralization" and thus beginning "to undo one of the most baneful effects of the industrial revolution"; and the note referred to "the city populations of Britain . . . giving themselves wholeheartedly to what is for thousands of them an entirely new experience: the sight and sound and smell—and taste—of the country."

Since for the previous fortnight I had had a close-up view of evacuation in more than one part of the country, I read the comment with special interest and, while not denying a possibility of some slight measure of such result as THE COMMONWEAL referred to, read it rather sardonically.

For evacuation purposes the various parts of the kingdom fall into one of three categories, namely, evacuation areas, neutral, or reception. How some of these assignments were arrived at is not immediately obvious: I know, for example, of one reception area that is separated from a first-class danger zone only by ten miles of straggling suburbs and a very important airdrome. The principal section of the population to which free and voluntary removal from vulnerable places applies is, of course, children of all grades from the state schools (I must remind my readers that these are far more a "class" institution in England than in America); and probably the most complicating factor in actual evacuation has been that at the last moment large numbers of mothers, having previously elected to stay at home, decided to accompany their children into safety — and then wished they hadn't.

The exodus from the chief danger zones began by order on September 1, continuing over three days, and no doubt the American press has given full publicity to the smoothness and success with which it was carried out (it is shocking to think what might have happened had an air raid taken place while it was going on). I have no statistics, but hundreds of thousands of children and adults were transported, many for journeys of considerable length, without any major mishap or breakdown. There were inevitably minor accidents and confusions: only today, six weeks later, the papers speak of three buses, containing seventy children, of which all trace has been lost by the people responsible for them—but they are certainly being looked after somewhere. The actual movement was indeed a fine piece of organization and discipline, but when it was safely accomplished, the trouble began, so that today there is danger of these elaborate precautions becoming to a considerable extent a dead letter.

First-hand observations

I can best illustrate the sort of difficulties that have occurred from my own observations made in a certain district some ten days after war began; reports from other areas, whether private or given by press or radio, all tell the same tale. The neighborhood to which I refer is an agricultural one, centering in a small country town which I will call Riverton (I must apologize for this mystery, but I am not at all sure what sort of information the censor may esteem to be of use to the enemy), and into it have been poured hundreds of people from a large port some 150 miles away (this is a long way in little England). Riverton itself has two or three cinemas, plenty of public-houses and other urban "amenities," but I soon found that among the adult evacuees (preposterous word!) there was discontent with its dullness, and among the residents some unrest at, e.g., the number of none-too-clean child visitors who insisted on playing in the streets when there were other places to play. Talking with a social service worker I remarked on the problem that the town presented: "Ugh!" he snorted, "you should see the problem in the rural area!"

The next day I took an opportunity to do so, accompanying the same worker who was visiting outlying parts by car, taking with him the local priest who was hunting up Catholics. Within a radius of ten miles and more of Riverton many evacuees were billeted, singly or in groups, in farmhouses, laborers' cottages and an occasional empty house. Three miles out, on a by-road that has one bus a week, we met two women and some children trudging along. They were obviously evacuees, and they told us that they were in charge of their own and several other children at a house two miles away. Where were they off to? To Riverton, to make arrangements to go back home. Why? "There's nothing to do out here. And

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nowhere to go. And [defiantly] you can't stop us going home." No, they could not be stopped if they wanted to return, but we tried to dissuade them—unsuccessfully.

But it was not quite true that those women had nothing to do. We visited "their" house, a large pleasant dwelling with a good garden near a small village. It had been furnished with a minimum of benches, rough tables, wire and camp beds, but had been reduced to a shocking state of filth and untidiness. The rooms, even with the windows open, stank; there were adequate sanitary arrangements, but the children (of whom there were six or seven, from babies to fourteen or so) relieved themselves everywhere but in the place provided for the purpose: in a word, a decent house had become a squalid slum in a week.

Among the children was a colored boy, whose exploits had already rung through Riverton. On arrival he had seen, for the first time, a turkey. He chased and caught it, the turkey went for him and the boy fought back: result, a good bird with both its legs broken. I asked about this from a neighbor, a middle-aged farm-wife, who described at length, but with amazement and pity rather than indignation, what a time they were having.

"We have to keep on the look-out the whole time. Those children will chase the hens, the sheep and even the heifers. . . . They will break anything. . . . They have that big garden, but they play only in the road, at this dangerous corner. . . . Their mothers have no control over them, and don't seem to care whether the children obey or not, or how dirty they are. . . . The *very first thing* one of the women said to me when she arrived was, 'Is it true what I have been told, that there is no public-house for a mile?' "

"Where is the pub?"

Over and over again one hears of that first question from evacuees in the country, "Where is the pub? . . . the cinema? . . . the fish-and-chip shop? . . . What?! Then I am going home!"

While we were at this place, a local inspector of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children drove up—a decent man in despair. "I've got a dozen places like this," he groaned. "I've never met such people before. If I or the medical officer of health say anything to them, they just answer that they don't want to stop here and we can go to hell."

Our next call was a cheering contrast. Two children were billeted in a farmhouse. They were clean, tidy and well-behaved, attending the village school and helping in the house, very happy in their new surroundings and not (yet) pining for cinemas and city streets. "We are going to get on all right," said their hostess, and added shrewdly, "You see, I haven't got their mothers here." That is another certain fact, vouched for from all parts, about this evacuation business: that trouble and discontent are chiefly found where the adult women are.

Throughout the day it was a ringing of the changes between the above two extremes, and we arrived back in Riverton saying, "If there's no raid soon, half these people will be going home." As I write there has not yet been a raid, and many of the evacuees *have* gone home: I do not know what proportion of them, but increasing numbers, enough to prompt the Minister of Health directly and the B.B.C. indirectly to issue warnings against a false sense of security. And it is impossible to be surprised. For however insensitive one may be to the charms of urban proletarian life, one can appreciate the loneliness and the boredom of these people pitchforked into the country and living in other people's houses—though it is harder to condone the attitude of some of them when they refuse to do anything, even to help their hosts, because "that's not what they're there for." Six weeks without the sign of a bomb naturally fosters an atmosphere of "It won't happen, after all," especially among the majority which has not much imagination and no practical experience of air-raids. And all the time there must be the pressure, expressed or not, conscious or not, of husbands and elder children, those unfortunate and patient people left behind to fend for themselves, do their daily work and support the misery of blacked-out streets, abnormal daily life and ever-threatening danger.

Other aspects

There are plenty more aspects of evacuation with news-value, from the people who wouldn't leave the train at Riverton because "we only came for the trip" to the horror of the genteel and pained astonishment of the really innocent to find some of their guests were verminous and others half-starved: to say nothing of the things which are related of the mental, moral and physical condition of some of the slum children, which I can hardly believe in spite of the undoubted credibility of the narrators.

But I want to get back to THE COMMONWEAL's note. I think I have shown that the statement that the city evacuees "are giving themselves wholeheartedly to . . . the sight and sound and smell—and taste—of the country" is not very happily expressed (in passing I may say that generally speaking the food that the English countryman tastes is much the same as that of the townsman—but it costs more to buy in the country). And it may be inferred from my remarks that the conjecture that many of them will remain and take root in rural districts is a pretty wild conjecture: in at least one district with a strong local patriotism the opposite is feared—that the "natives" will be corrupted and lured yet more away by town

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manners and attractions, though it seems to me that in the circumstances they are more likely to be put off.

Over and above the comparative safety of the human beings concerned, at least one good thing can be put to the credit of this unexampled evacuation. Rural England, Wales and Scotland are face to face with urban England, Wales and Scotland: not in the towns, where the countryman comes seeking work and "betterment," not in a literary form, presented probably by someone who knows only one side or the other well, and equally probably has an axe to grind; but in actuality and for all to see. And from this much of value can be learned. For example, that the British country folk, however depleted in numbers, however spoiled their way of life, are much less assimilated to the town folk than many of us had supposed, that the specific character and "decency" of the rural people is less modified than we had feared.

Moreover many people who needed it have had forced on their notice the reality of urban slumdom: the facts that there *are* children with body lice and verminous heads, who have never slept alone in a bed; that there *are* people who are half starved and less than half clothed; that urban proletarianism *does* breed feckless, unstable people, whose homes and lives are such that their heaven is compounded of the pub, the movies, and the fish-and-chip shop; that there *are* many human beings in Great Britain who have to exist on wages or reliefs that are grossly insufficient to support life properly.

The government allowance for evacuated children is ten shillings a week for one, and eight shillings and sixpence for each above one. As a broadcaster from Scotland said the other night, "If any of you are tempted to grumble at the government allowances for the children under your care, just remember how many of their parents have at all times to support their families and maintain their homes on a smaller per capita sum than you are receiving."

Certainly at the present moment there is no indication that the evacuation will result in any definitive return to the country from the city; but it *does* look as if a number of comfortably-circumstanced people are receiving a most salutary lesson on the subject of social injustice.

Private evacuation

Of the evacuation of families privately and at their own cost and responsibility little need be said, though some poignant stories could be told: as usual at times of national difficulty the middle class and struggling professional people are among the greatest sufferers, and they receive help from nobody but themselves.

The government encouraged all who were able to do so to leave vulnerable areas; as was emphasized a few days ago in Parliament, it was expected that war would immediately bring air raids on such a scale that London might be for a time cut off from the rest of the country. That fear was shared by the majority of people, and concurrently with the children's evacuation rail and road were crowded with other "refugees"; many of these left their homes at only a few hours' notice, sometimes with no definite place to go to—they feared that if they waited they might be caught in a maelstrom, with no way left of escape.

One man I know well removed his family from near London in a borrowed car the day after war was declared; he had taken a house in the west of England a few hours previously. When they arrived they found it had been re-let over their heads at an increased rent. It was five weeks before they got another one, and meanwhile half their savings had been spent. That man, who is well over military age and belongs to the "professional class," has lost his means of livelihood through the war, and sees no prospect of getting any other work. Again, in Riverton I met a woman with three or four children and another coming whose husband, a non-commissioned officer in the army, had at once sent her away from their home in a London suburb. She was accompanied by her old father and mother, who had come to see her fixed. And "fixed" she was, in a big, gaunt, dirty shop-building, with no furniture and a prospect of weeks, perhaps months, of waiting before she could get her own there. They were a pathetic group: the mother lively and cheerful, the children bewildered, the poor old people gnawed by anxiety and touchingly grateful for small kindnesses, and a sister whose outraged gentility would have been comic in less critical circumstances. But such cases are relatively mild—I mention them only because I came into personal contact with them.

A visitor to England might well be impressed by the normality in daily life. But it is deceptive. Under the surface is layer upon layer of tragedy, especially for the middle-aged and old.

Since writing the above, it has been made public that of 1½ million children provided for, only 675,000 were evacuated and of these many thousands have returned home—nearly 20,000 to London alone; it is feared that the demand for payment by parents who can afford it towards the maintenance of billeted children will cause further withdrawals. The London *Daily Telegraph* comments: "The government's scheme . . . so carefully worked out and put into operation at great expense, has substantially failed to achieve its object." There is extreme concern about the children who remained in or have returned to vulnerable cities also because of the government's refusal, in view of the great danger to large gatherings of people in an air raid, to allow urban schools to be reopened.

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Americans and China's Fight

A Catholic Bishop tells Americans about his country's struggle against aggression.

***By* the Most Reverend Paul Yu-pin**

THE WAR in Europe has focused the attention of America on the unhappy events now transpiring across the Atlantic. It is natural that many Americans should forget what is happening in Asia. But the European situation should not cause Americans to forget that in the Far Eastern conflict the number of people affected and the suffering inflicted on civilians are greater even than in the European tragedy. For, with a large part of Europe engulfed in the flames of war, it is to America, more urgently now than ever before, that China's suffering people turn for relief.

China's armed resistance against aggression is being fought at a grievous cost. The destruction wrought by the Nipponese army on the civilian population is on a vaster scale than has ever been witnessed. Disregarding all restrictions imposed by international law and treaties as well as by the dictates of humanity, the invading militarists have embarked on a systematic slaughter of non-combatants, appalling in its wantonness. Each day produces now instances of airplane bombings of congested cities, of destruction of schools, hospitals, missions and other non-military objectives, of looting, of wholesale violation of women.

The Director of the National Health Administration of China recently estimated that aside from the more than 1,000,000 army casualties, the war has orphaned 6,000,000 Chinese children and created an army of more than 60,000,000 homeless refugees, of whom about one-third are entirely destitute and have to be supported by the state.* Yet this policy of extermination, which has aroused the horror of the entire civilized world, has failed of its objective. It should also be noted that no future change, if there will be any, in the relations between Japan and Soviet Russia would alter China's determination to struggle to the end for her territorial and administrative integrity. Likewise no change in the international situation would make the Chinese people surrender to the invader.

For American Catholics, the plight of China is of special concern, inasmuch as Catholicism has made great headway in that country. In 1936 the number of Chinese Catholics was 3,500,000. In that year the Catholic church supported 129 missions with a personnel of 12,499, including an archbishop, 94 bishops, 4,552 priests, 1,263 brothers, 5,746 nuns and 843 seminarians. The number of Catholic schools was over 16,000 including 103 senior high schools, 4,283 primary schools and 11,827 schools of religious instruction. These schools had an enrollment of more than 432,000 boys and girls. In addition there were 144 industrial schools giving instruction to 6,191 young and old. The three Catholic universities are located at Shanghai, Tientsin and Peiping.

In medical and social welfare work the record is equally impressive. The number of Catholic orphanages in 1936 was 415, with 28,000 orphans in their charge. More than 230 hospitals and asylums, generally entrusted to Sisters, ministered to the needs of 97,000 sick and aged persons, while 1,002 dispensaries provided almost 10,000,000 consultations or treatments.

Truly notable has been the development of the Catholic press in China. In 1936 there were some 115 Catholic periodicals published in 43 cities. Of these 66 were religious in character and 49 devoted to social, educational and cultural matters. There were two dailies published in the Chinese language. I have the honor of being the director of one of these dailies—a leading paper in China.

In spite of the fact that China passed through a period of unrest from the beginning of the present century to 1927, the Church made great strides. Since 1900 the number of Catholics in China has quadrupled, while even since 1920 the increase has been approximately fifty percent. In 1922 Pope Pius XI established the Apostolic Delegation to China, whch appointed the first two Chinese Prefects Apostolic. Six Chinese bishops received Episcopal Consecration at the hands of His Holiness in the Vatican, marking a notable milestone in the Church's policy in China.

Religious freedom in China

Religious freedom is provided for in the Chinese Constitution; it is an unshakable foundation of the Chinese state. Some outstanding Chinese leaders, including Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Dr. H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong, are Christians. Many Christian missionaries are trusted advisers of the governing officials. It is particularly significant to the Christian world that *in a country where as yet less than one percent of the population is Christian, the governing National*

* It costs only $1 per month to feed a refugee.

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Political Council has a membership which is one-third Christian.

A few incidents of recent years will serve to illustrate the cordial relations existing between the Church and the Chinese Government. In August, 1928, Pope Pius XI sent a warm message of sympathy and good wishes for Young China. The Pope was represented at the state funeral of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1929, and the papal representative was for the first time in history accorded full diplomatic honors by the Chinese Government as Minister Plenipotentiary. The first All China Catholic Action Congress, held in Shanghai in September, 1935, was addressed by Dr. H. H. Kung, the present Premier, who came as a personal representative of President Lin-sen. It is also worthy of mention that China was the only Asiatic power to send a "Envoy Special and Ambassador Extraordinary" to the coronation of Pope Pius XII. Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, China's foremost diplomat and statesman, was sent to the Vatican for that special occasion.

But unfortunately most of the progress of the Catholic Church in China, built up by the self-sacrificing efforts of devoted men and women over hundreds of years, is damaged or threatened by the invaders. The Imperial army of Japan attempts to crush anything which seems to be an obstacle to the subjugation of the Chinese. To it the Church, which has been helping the Chinese to stand on their own feet and which preaches "peace with justice" and the equality of all before God, seems a natural enemy.

The attitude of the invading forces toward the Church in China is reflected not only in the restrictions on free Christian worship within the so-called "occupied areas," but in the indiscriminate destruction, pillaging, burning and looting of Christian churches and missions. One could fill page upon page with details of bombings of Catholic and Protestant churches, hospitals, schools, residences and other properties. Such incidents are almost of daily occurrence. Nor are the persons of Catholics safe from the ravages of the invaders.

Nothing could be further from the truth than the oft-repeated assertion, spread assiduously by Japanese propagandists, that Japan's fight is against the spread of communism in China. The plain fact is that China is in no way communistic. I have already mentioned the disproportionately large number of Christians in the National Political Council. To this it should be added that there is not a single communist in the Cabinet or in the National Defense Council, the supreme civil body of the country.

The Communist Party is now cooperating wholeheartedly with the Government in efforts to defend its independence and better the lot of the masses on the basis of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles, which from its very inception have been the ideological foundation of the Kuomintang, the governing party in China. It is true that in 1926 and 1927 there was some danger of communism in China, which the Government undertook to destroy with all the force at its command. From April, 1927, to 1935 it launched an anti-communist campaign. A striking episode, known as the "Sian Incident," took place in December, 1936. After the seizure of General Chiang Kai-shek at Sianfu by the "Young Marshal," Chang Hsueh-liang, and General Yang Hu-cheng, the communists renounced their opposition to the Government. The "Chinese Soviet Government" was abolished. The communist policy of expropriation was abandoned. The Chinese communist leaders endorsed the democratic political principles of the National Government and gave themselves to the service of their country. The former "Red Army" was then organized as the Eighth Route Army—part of the national army. Under these circumstances the Government forgave the communists their political activities, in which they had been misled. This marked a turning point in China's destiny and firmly consolidated the national unity.

China is a nation of small agricultural proprietors. The mentality of the Chinese people together with their customs and traditions have a deep-rooted stability which for five thousand years has resisted all upheavals and sees in the family and the family spirit the basis of its institutions. It is upon these customs and traditions that the Government is basing its program for ameliorating the material and cultural conditions of life in China, simultaneously utilizing to the utmost modern technical progress.

The bedrock of this program is the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Washington of modern China. These principles, briefly stated, are the achievement of national independence, the exercise of democracy and the improvement of the living conditions of the Chinese people. Concretely they take the form of democratically elected legislative bodies representing the will of the people, agrarian reform, the encouragement of industrial cooperatives, state control of certain resources and public utilities and regulation of private enterprise.

If I seem to have laid great stress on the matter of communism, it is because I realize that millions of Americans have been misled and confused by propaganda. It is no longer a secret that a well-paid army of Japanese or Japanese-hired propagandists, masquerading under the guise of "information bureaus" and "chambers of commerce," has been working assiduously to spread among Americans the falsehood that China is communistic. Surely it is significant that not one of these leading Japanese propagandists has visited free China since the war started, although some of them have visited Japan with Japanese funds.

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The Chinese hierarchy and missionaries have given hearty support to the Government in its fight for national integrity, political and economic independence. It is inconceivable that such support would be given to a government in any way communistic, or that a communist government would name a member of the Catholic hierarchy as its envoy in the interests of millions of its desperately needed citizens.

Recent developments *

My visits of the front and rear of China's lines of defense in October and November have made me more convinced than ever that the Chinese people are confident that since justice will always prevail so their victory is only a matter of time—and a period of not more than two years. The majority of the Chinese know they are fighting for their existence, for the liberty, independence and integrity of their country. Communism has not touched the heart of the majority of the Chinese people. But there is one way communism could spread in China, possible *only* under two conditions: If China is defeated by Japan and no outside assistance comes to China; or if Europe continues at war for a few more years and the democratic nations can only serve China with lip-service while actually continuing to send war materials and implements of war to Japan. If unfortunately such a danger comes to China, only God knows what will hapen to one-fourth of the world's population!

Regardless of any political aspects of China's fight, there can be no two opinions regarding the imperative need of extending aid to the millions of innocent victims of this undeclared war. For what words could describe the sufferings of 60,000,000 people, homeless and at the point of starvation? To the normal horrors of war are now added the danger of epidemics on a vast scale. Outbreaks of cholera and bubonic plague have already taken place; huge areas are afflicted with malignant malaria. Add to this the fact that about five million Chinese have become homeless because the Japanese soldiery opened some Yellow River dikes about three weeks ago!

While the Chinese Government and voluntary organizations are straining every resource to cope with this situation, they themselves can hardly satisfy the medical requirements of civilian refugees. They need the assistance of friends of China in America as well as other countries.

In her present plight China has been greatly aided by the valiant doctors, nurses and missionaries from foreign lands, particularly the United States, who have refused to leave their posts, though sometimes their governments have been reluctant to give them effective protection. The Chinese people will always cherish a warm feeling of gratitude to these servants of humanity. This gratitude also goes out to those organizations abroad which have been extending aid to China in its hour of need. Among such organizations in America particular mention should be made of the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, official representative of the National Chinese Red Cross in the United States. Composed primarily of prominent American physicians, this non-political organization in its year and a half of activity has raised more than $300,000, which has been transmitted to the Chinese Red Cross in the form of medical supplies and equipment. The medicines, serums, vaccines, anesthetics, ambulances, instruments, X-ray machines shipped to China by this group have undoubtedly saved the lives of thousands. Then the Catholic War Relief Association of China has been founded by the Chinese bishops. I have the honor and privilege to be its director. This association not only helps Catholic war refugees but also assists suffering people of all faiths. This association still has its office and agents in the United States.

But in comparison to the need, the aid so far extended has been pitifully inadequate. Unless large-scale and prompt aid comes from abroad, millions of people cannot keep their body and soul together. The situation has been aggravated by the refusal of the Japanese invaders to permit the American Red Cross and other relief organizations to send medicine or food to starving towns.

In an audience with the writer 22 days before his death, the late Pope Pius XI blessed our mission of seeking relief for Chinese refugees. On that occasion His Holiness gave me this message:

"Tell, then, those Americans who helped or will help the relief work in China, that we willingly give our special blessing to each of them." Incidentally, it should be recorded that His Holiness himself gave substantial sums for war relief work in stricken China.

We are not asking the people of the United States to help us fight the Japanese. The Chinese people are doing that themselves and they will persevere. China believes that she is entitled to America's moral support and hopes that the United States soon will cease sending Japan war materials with which to slaughter innocent men, women and children. China is convinced that America will respond generously to her appeal for help to the war orphans and refugees.

Aside from the humanitarian character of China's appeal, Catholics have the added incentive of helping to preserve the spiritual values built up by the Church in China over many years. Nothing would so enhance the prestige of the Church among the Chinese people and nothing would so arouse their gratitude as prompt and generous aid in this tragic crisis in their history.

* This section of the article comes direct from China, by airmail.

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The NAB Code and Father Coughlin

A discussion of the radio and freedom of speech.

By Joseph A. Roney

A NUMBER of Catholics and some Catholic publications have been taking pot-shots at the National Association of Broadcasters for ruling Father Coughlin off the air. There is great misunderstanding about this issue. NAB didn't rule Father Coughlin off the air. The NAB code, adopted last July 11, provides among other things that radio time cannot be bought—though it explicitly provides for free time—for the discussion of "controversial public issues." The interpretation of that provision on October 3 by the NAB Code Compliance Committee simply held that the arms embargo was a controversial public issue. And it's hard to see how it could have been otherwise. But because this involved the consequences that Father Coughlin could no longer use bought radio time for discussion of that issue—though he could buy time for discussion of any one of a million other subjects and could discuss even the arms embargo on free time—his friends and supporters, and even many of those who are not his friends and supporters, are convinced that the whole NAB code is a contemptible conspiracy to keep Father Coughlin off the air.

They argue that the radio priest "has the right to make known his views, the right to try to make others see as he sees." "That," they say, "is the right—and not the privilege—that belongs to all of us as Americans." They are, in other words, identifying radio with other media of public communication, like the newspaper.

Antecedently under our law a man is free, and should be free, to say just about what he pleases in his own newspaper; with the consequence, however, that he may be held legally responsible by those whom he libels. Such freedom may, and should be, permitted; first of all, because the medium, the newspaper, is private property; secondly, because the same right is open to all—anyone who wishes to start a newspaper is legally free to do so. But with radio it is different. There the medium, the radio frequency, is public property; and the frequencies are limited in number—not anyone who wishes to start a radio station may do so.

The radio frequencies are public property because they imply an exclusive use of whatever it is that is the medium through which radio waves are carried—let us call it the "ether." And the ether, which is quite the same to the layman as "the air," must obviously be as free, as much the property of everyone, the exclusive property of no one, as the air itself.

So, if radio is to serve the interests of its true owners, the public, it can't be free in the sense that newspapers are free. That is, the 700 station owners can't do with their facilities as they please, as the 14,000 newspaper owners can. Recognizing this inescapable fact, the Congress—which exercises no control over newspapers—has provided that all radio stations must serve the "public interest, convenience and necessity," and has set up the Federal Communications Commission to see that they do.

Obviously this implies, *of necessity*, that radio licensees—the station owners—shall know beforehand what they are broadcasting (i.e., that they shall be free to examine scripts in advance) and that they must have some discretion in accepting and rejecting broadcasts.

What is sauce for the goose . . .

This apparently has been the implicit contention of all the countless Catholic groups and publications that have for years been protesting against the Rutherford broadcasts. These complainants—including some of those now in opposition to the code—felt that radio ought not tolerate religious programs that "convey attacks upon another's . . . religion." The highest court then competent to pass on the matter, the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, held precisely that in 1931. But many station owners still continued to carry Rutherford's diatribes. It was wrong of them to do so. Radio being still relatively young, they got away with it. But they couldn't hope to get away with it forever.

As with the question of religious prejudice on the air, so also with a number of other well-agitated issues. The more far-seeing station owners recognized this, and they feared that if they didn't clean house themselves, they'd ultimately have it cleaned for them by the Federal Communications Commission.

So they hired a full-time president for NAB and set about drafting a more complete code that they hoped would, as much as any code could, assure satisfactory concurrence with the "public interest,

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convenience and necessity." They drafted a tentative code in late 1938 and early 1939 and published it in May of this year. It provided that "radio . . . may not be used to convey attacks upon another's . . . religion." Since the same reasoning applied to attacks on another's race, they also included that. Another issue had in the meantime come to the fore. The Ford Motor Company, for example, was able to afford hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to build a radio program of high listener interest—and select listeners at that—and to put smack in the middle of it a talk, each Sunday, by W. J. Cameron, which many people thought reactionary to the last degree. Exponents of more liberal views couldn't afford equally attractive vehicles for the expression of their opposed views. People were beginning to complain.

To meet this situation, NAB included in its draft code the following provision:

> . . . member stations shall at all times hold their facilities in readiness, consistent with proper program balancing, for the free and open discussion of public questions of general interest . . . time will not be sold for discussion of controversial public questions, nor will such discussion be permitted on sponsored advertising programs, unless representative spokesmen from at least two clearly defined and different sectors of public opinion participate in the same program at the same time.

This draft code, it should be repeated, was formulated early this year and printed in May. That was before there was any war in Europe, even before the President asked for revision of the Neutrality Act. Certainly it was long before anyone anticipated that there would be a fight over the arms embargo, and likewise long before anyone—including Father Coughlin himself, one would think—could have known or even suspected that Father Coughlin would make the arms embargo the subject of his radio talks in September of 1939.

Just before the NAB met to adopt the code last July, the writer of the column captioned "Shrine Dinner Chats—From the Rectory," in the July 10 issue of *Social Justice,* commented on the draft code. Discussing the provision prohibiting attacks upon another's race or religion, the columnist wrote: "With the spirit of this ruling everyone would, perhaps, agree. The anti-Catholic and anti-religious broadcasts, of the Rutherford and *Time* type, would be barred under this code if impartially enforced." The columnist went on to argue that Father Coughlin had never attacked another's race or religion, but that many members of NAB charged that he had. "Plainly then," he added, "it becomes a matter of interpretation and *who* is to interpret."

The columnist from the rectory then continued:

> Concerning the broadcasting of controversial discussion the proposed "Standards of Practice" [part of the draft code] recites: "In presenting discussions of a controversial public question, stations will make every effort to provide fair and equal opportunity for each responsible point of view to be heard. However, the failure of an opposition viewpoint to avail itself of this opportunity should not, in itself, preclude any discussion of a given question."
>
> This is widely at variance with the present practice, whereby leftist propaganda is given every facility while use of the radio to counter leftist propaganda is absolutely barred to Father Coughlin by the station owners. Communism is given every consideration; and anti-Communists barred as "controversial."

Evidently the *Social Justice* columnist then approved that much of the "controversial public issues" sections of the draft code.

The code adopted

The code was adopted on July 11, 1939, the "controversial public issues" section remaining virtually as it was in the draft code,* save that the clause allowing time to be bought for such discussion provided "representative spokesmen from at least two clearly defined and different sectors of public opinion participate in the same program" was omitted.

In the adopted code, the reasons for refusing to accept payment for discussion of controversial public issues were set out as follows:

> First, it is a public duty of broadcasters to bring such discussion to the radio audience regardless of the willingness of others to pay for it. Second, should time be sold for the discussion of controversial issues, it would have to be sold, in fairness, to all with the ability and desire to buy at any given time. Consequently all possibility of regulating the amount of discussion on the air in proportion to other elements of properly balanced programming or of allotting the available periods with due regard to listener interest in the topics to be discussed would be surrendered. Third, and by far the most important, should time be sold for the discussion of controversial public issues and for the propagation of the views of individuals or groups, a powerful public forum would inevitably gravitate almost wholly into the hands of those with the greater means to buy it.

It was provided that the code should go into effect on the first of October, 1939. Some people feared that NAB wouldn't have the courage to

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*Both the draft and final codes except political campaign broadcasts from the ban on paid controversial programs. From experience the station owners know that the demands made on them to present political campaign programs will far exceed whatever time they feel they could reasonably be expected to give free of charge. However Sec. 315 of the Communications Act requires them to give an even break to all "legally qualified candidates for any public office." Public forum types of program, consisting of "series of fair-minded discussions of public issues" where "control of the fairness of the program rests wholly with the broadcasting station or network" are also excepted.

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enforce it when some issue really became acute; that the new code would be nothing more than window dressing, like the old code that preceded it. They thought it would be the same old story of banning attacks on religion, for example, and then winking at Rutherford. Whether they were right or wrong could not be known of course, until after October 1. And by that date a real, vital issue was already waiting: Europe was at war, the debate over the arms embargo was raging in this country, and Father Coughlin was using paid time for *ex parte* discussion of it. NAB had a delicate problem on its hands. And it would seem to be all to its credit that it chose to be guided by principle rather than by opportunism.

It would have been so much easier for NAB to have winked at the matter, or to have formulated some phoney excuse for evading it. But instead it ruled that the embargo question was, as it certainly is, a "controversial public issue," and thus deprived member stations of the handsome revenue that they would otherwise have realized from Father Coughlin's contracts; to say nothing of the revenue they would have realized from those who wished to answer Father Coughlin—such answers, it should be noted, being equally barred from paid time.

From every angle, therefore, it seems inescapable that the recent ruling of the NAB Code Compliance Committee was not a device to bar Father Coughlin from the air. Indeed Father Coughlin wasn't even mentioned in the Committee's decision; though on being interrogated by newspaper men, a member of the NAB staff admitted that the ruling would prevent Father Coughlin (or anyone else, for that matter) from using paid time for discussion of the embargo issue, *pro* or *con*, at least after present contractual commitments had been honored. But it's difficult to see how he could have said anything else. Certainly his very obvious remark could not be taken as evidence of a "ban Coughlin" conspiracy.

In any event, the adopted code does not preclude discussion of the embargo question or any other public controversial issue. On the contrary it stipulates that

> networks and stations shall provide time for the presentation of public questions including those of controversial nature . . . Broadcasters shall use their best efforts to allot such time with fairness to all elements in a given controversy.

Which, it is submitted, is fair enough in principle. The way it works out in practice will depend on the intelligence, the impartiality and the courage of the Code Compliance Committee. If it fails in any of these three respects, it will richly deserve the criticism it will be sure to get. But that will be the fault of the interpreters of the code, not of the code itself.

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S message to the people of England and the British Empire speaks a language which expresses clearly several highly important aspects of the world situation which are often forgotten or ignored by the many observers of that situation in this country who can so fortunately feel and think and act without themselves being involved directly in the awful struggle. In the first place, he puts into words quite bluntly the fact which millions of people feel so keenly, that all thought of ending the war and coming to an understanding with the present German government is quite in vain, because "no one believes one word Hitler and the Nazi party says." The fact that Hitler recently gave to both Holland and Belgium the most solemn guarantees against invasion and against violation of their neutrality is, said Mr. Churchill, cause only for great anxiety. Similar guarantees were given in the past to Austria, to Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. If now the Nazis refrain from violating the Low Countries, it will be for other reasons than the fulfillment of a pledge of honor, for they have no honor to pledge. To deal with such a government on anything like equal terms now would be defeat not only for the governments of England and France—it would be compounding in the Nazi felonies. Nor could it possibly restore that peace which all the world longs for, because there can be no peace with a nation's government held in such hands as the present rulers' of Germany.

That there are many millions of Germans who, as Mr. Churchill said in the same blistering attack upon their government, "stand aloof from the seething mass of criminality and corruption constituted by the Nazi party machine," may be taken for granted, and it is upon such Germans that the great task of making peace must fall. Perhaps all the world outside Germany should pay heed to what Mr. Churchill said to them, as well as to the uncompromising language addressed to their Nazi masters. "Let them take courage amid perplexities and perils," said Mr. Churchill, "for it may be that the final extinction of a baleful combination will pave the way to a broader solidarity of all the men in all the lands than we could have planned it if we had not marched together through the fire."

Although the war must now go on, the signs multiply that the problem of what shall follow the fighting is receiving today far more thoughtful attention, based upon a far more realistic estimation of war's costs, than was the case either during or after the war of 1914-18. Among those who have taken thought in this matter is Mr. Churchill himself. There are several essays of his in his volume, "Amid These Storms," published in 1932, which contain passages of great significance today, when he is a principal figure in directing England's part in the new war. Few men if any possess so intimate and so practical a fund of knowledge of modern war as Mr. Churchill. He distills the essence of that awful knowledge in the pages of an essay grimly entitled, "Shall We All Commit Suicide?"

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If we remember that he is no mere newspaper commentator or gossip, but the former (and the actual) leader of the British Navy in war-time, what Mr. Churchill reveals in one passage of his essay has terrible significance now.

After tracing the swift, progressive steps by which the last war drew the entire populations of the nations engaged in it into participation, he sums it up as follows: "Nothing was wasted that could contribute to the process of waste. The last dying kick was brought into military utility. But all that happened in the four years of the Great War was only a prelude to what was preparing for the fifth year. The campaign of the year 1919 would have witnessed an immense accession to the power of destruction. Had the Germans retained the morale to make good their retreat to the Rhine, they would have been assaulted in the summer of 1919 with forces and by methods incomparably more prodigious than any yet employed. Thousands of aeroplanes would have shattered their cities. Scores of thousands of cannon would have blasted their front. Arrangements were being made to carry simultaneously a quarter of a million men, together with all their requirements, continuously forward in mechanical vehicles moving ten or fifteen miles each day. Poison gases of incredible malignity, against which only a secret mask (which the Germans could not obtain in time) was proof, would have stifled all resistance and paralyzed all life on the hostile front subjected to attack. No doubt the Germans too had their plans. But the hour of wrath had passed. The signals of relief were given, and the horrors of 1919 remain buried in the archives of the great antagonists . . . but their knowledge was preserved; their data, calculations and discoveries were hastily bundled together and docketed 'for future reference' by the War Offices in each country."

The word "buried" in the above paragraph does not express Mr. Churchill's idea with his usual clarity; for, as he himself makes clear in the same essay, the data of the plans for the extension of the war "in every Army are being explored, elaborated, refined, under the surface of peace, and should war come again to the world it will not be with the weapons and agencies prepared for 1919 that it will be fought, but with developments and extensions of these which will be incomparably more formidable and fatal."

And now war has indeed returned! When the diplomatic and propaganda moves peter out, and war goes on in earnest, we have more than a hint, we have a revelation from one who knows what that war will be like. No wonder Mr. Churchill said, toward the end of his essay, as he predicted the return of war—because its underlying causes had not been cured—"Surely if a sense of self-preservation still exists among men, if the will to live resides not only in individuals and nations, but in humanity as a whole, the prevention of the supreme catastrophe ought to be the paramount object of all endeavor." As for himself, he offered the League of Nations as the means of averting the suicide of Europe. Now he is aiding to fight the war he foresaw and dreaded so deeply. One wonders what hope, if any, he preserves as to the future outlined in this prophetic essay.

Communications

TO MY AMERICAN FRIENDS

Avoise, Sarthe, France.

TO the Editors: I have received THE COMMONWEAL for October 13, and I thank you with all my heart for having published my article, "To My American Friends." I deeply appreciate the evidence of friendship you have thus given me. You very properly emphasized in an editorial paragraph ("Maritain on the War") the fact—even though that fact was self-evident—that in expressing my own thoughts on the war I did not dream of suggesting anything whatever concerning the policy which your country should follow. Such a suggestion coming from a foreigner would not only be highly indiscreet, but highly absurd. When I wrote my article I wished to declare at the very outset of events, by virtue of that kind of immediate perception which the spirit then experiences, my personal thought on a matter which involves the conscience of each of us; and I wished to declare it to my American friends because it is in great part with them (having in common with them many anxieties and many hopes) that for several years I have tried to understand the problems and the "twilight" of our civilization.

Having said so much, I shall not pretend that certain points made in the paragraph which concerns me in this number of THE COMMONWEAL do not, in my opinion, require completing. Indeed I am not unaware of the existence of "the material bases for this war—empire, colonies, *lebensraum* . . ." and there are many others. But I also know that what made insoluble the problems which are connected with these material bases is the spirit of Nazism, its refusal to collaborate truly with the other nations and the way in which, while reducing the German people to slavery, it has dedicated itself to undertakings of domination and of international violence. If any of your readers wish to reassure themselves on this point, they can turn to Rauschning's "Revolution of Nihilism." A year ago I was in America; everyone was then heaping reproaches upon the signatories of the Munich pact because of their weakness in the face of Nazi ambition.

The material bases of the present war are not only empire, colonies, *lebensraum;* they are also autarchic economy, the totalitarianism of a preying State, the sacrifice, imposed by the State, of creative work to the industries of war and the production of the means of destruction, the mad quest for a remedy for economic distress in international brigandage and territorial annexations. Going even deeper—but not all the way back to original sin—they are the disorders, economic, intellectual, moral, of our modern Western civilization. I should not wish to overburden you with my own writings; yet let me refer you to an article recently published by me in *Temps Présent* (September 29) in which, after having shown that here is no question of an ideological war, nor of a holy war, but of a *just* war, I insisted upon a major distinction too often not recognized; the distinction between the more remote origins of a war, in which the failings of each party play a greater or less part, and the decisive cause of that war,

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by reason of which it should be judged just or unjust. When the decisive cause of a war is fidelity to a promise made to a people which is a victim of savage aggression and the decision to resist, at the cost of blood, a boundless will to domination which recognizes neither good faith nor respect for treaties nor respect for elementary human rights, then that war is a just war.

To ignore the deep-seated causes and remote origins of a war on the score that this war is a just war and to neglect the necessity to remedy these causes in the peace which will follow would be folly. But to excuse oneself from recognizing the justice of a just war or the injustice of an unjust war on the score that in its remote origins all the participants must, to some degree or other, reproach themselves with some blame, would be equally foolhardy. In the order of private life we know very well that in a human conflict no one is above reproach; but we know as well that a murderer commits an unjust act, and that he who defends his family against incendiary or murderous neighbors acts justly, even if in the origins of the dispute they were not the only ones to have been in the wrong.

It is entirely understandable that the bishops of the countries at war should exhort their respective peoples to serve their countries loyally. However sad may be the division thus suffered by Catholicity, it would be naïve to be scandalized at it. But it would be another sort of naïveté, and a real spiritual surrender, to suppose that this diversity creates for us a duty to declare, *a priori,* that no one involved may defend a just cause and that everyone is equally right and wrong.

Finally I attach to the events which have just begun an importance and proportions greater than THE COMMONWEAL seems to do. If I am persuaded that the war into which France and England have been obliged to enter is a just war, I am equally persuaded that the historic catastrophe into which Europe has been drawn will produce a rebirth of which we cannot yet conceive the extent. Specifically I believe that Europe will be led to adopt a federal structure, and you know as well as I the radical nature of the changes indicated by that phrase. THE COMMONWEAL writes that millions of Frenchmen and Englishmen are ready to sacrifice their lives and their goods in the belief that they are fighting, not for empire, but against a horrible and inhuman thing. And it adds that it respects their belief. *In reality* they are fighting against a pagan empire which, after having devoured Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, would enslave peoples by terror; and they do not fight for imperialist ambitions, for the drama in which they are acting must of necessity lead into an epoch of history where every ambition of this sort will be frustrated.

JACQUES MARITAIN.

INTEGRATING RELIGION

Duluth, Minn.

TO the Editors: In Dr. McNeill's excellent report on the NCAF meetings (November 10) I find no reference to the important session devoted to the necessity for teaching theology in Catholic colleges. The hinterland would like to know more of this!

A WATCHFUL READER.

The Stage & Screen

Life with Father

THIS IS an altogether delightful comedy. Whether or not it completely visualizes Clarence Day's well known book I am unable to say, as I have never read it; all I can say is that it stands firmly on its own feet as dramatic entertainment. For this Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse are to be heartily congratulated. They have magnificently placed upon the stage the pompous, overbearing Victorian husband, his wife, who always manages to manage him, and their brood of redheaded children. In a sense the play is not a play at all, for the story is a thin one, having chiefly to do with Mother's successful attempt to get Father baptised. The triumph of the adaptors therefore is the greater that the audience's interest rarely flags. It is a triumph of characterization, of the whimsical revealing of tiny bits of human motive and action. Father is certainly master in his own house, and probably everywhere else—when Mother doesn't get into action. But when Mother does, Father is always circumvented, and what is more he knows it, though protestingly. To hear delighted feminine voices whispering in the audience, evidently to their spouses: "That's just like you!"—when Father makes one of his Victorian gestures of superiority—would have pleased Mr. Day were he still in the land of the living, and certainly pleased Mr. Crouse, if he heard them. Mr. Lindsay wasn't in a position to hear them, for he was impersonating Father on the stage, and impersonating him with rare relish and effectiveness. In this he was superbly abetted by Dorothy Stickney, who as Mother gives the performance of her career, a performance whimsical, knowing, packed with charm. Admirable too are John Drew Devereaux, Richard Simon, Raymond Roe, Larry Robinson, Richard Sterling, and Teresa Wright. "Life with Father" is one of the two or three musts of the season so far. *(At the Empire Theatre.)*

Margin for Error

UNLIKE some of my critical confreres I found "Margin for Error" a very dull play, albeit admirably acted. Though Clare Booth can write about the women of café society and their male counterparts with a pen of vitriol, she seems at sea when she attempts more masculine themes. The play is a mystery melodrama dealing with the murder of a villainous Nazi consul in an American city, and the efforts of a Jewish policeman to discover the murderer. The first act has some interesting moments, largely because of the Jewish policeman, the one character Miss Booth makes real, but the last act, devoted to a continuous and repetitious reenactment of the crime is dull indeed, brought to life only at the end by the inimitable Edward McNamara, who has the curtain line, a line which, however, offends the canons of good taste. But whatever may be said of the play itself the players have been shrewdly chosen. Besides Mr. McNamara, there is Sam Levene, excellent in the fat part of the Jewish

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policeman; Otto Preminger, who also directs the play, a properly villainous Nazi; Bramwell Fletcher, sympathetic as an honest Nazi; Bert Lytell, admirable as a doctor; Leif Erickson, a masculine radio commentator; and Evelyn Wahle, an amusing German maid. *(At the Plymouth Theatre.)* GRENVILLE VERNON.

Ships, Murders and Kisses

"RULERS OF THE SEA" refers not to Sabatini pirates or British warships but to those pioneer vessels that first crossed the Atlantic by steam power alone and specifically to the *Dog Star* (actually the *Sirius*) that made the first voyage in 1838. Beautiful photography, that almost reeks of brine, reveals the packet type that men knew in those days, the handsome *Falcon,* a full-rigged sailing ship whose old-school captain (George Bancroft) took every risk to make speed regardless of loss of seamen. Mate Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., rebelling against this disregard of life, is happy to combine his youth, fortitude and knowledge of navigation with the wisdom and vision of the "daft" Scotch machinist (brilliantly played by Will Fyffe) who has plans for a safe, fast paddle steamer. An overcrowded script labors these men with trouble of finding a sponsor, competitor's villainy, fire, the perilous first voyage. Producer-director Frank Lloyd uses last-century waterfront settings of Greenock and London, Richard Hageman's music, gorgeous seascapes and a good cast to make this a stirring, robust film.

New films include a couple of old-fashioned murder mysteries. "The Cat and the Canary," based on John Willard's laugh-thrill play about a bunch of relatives who go to gloomy, deep bayous of Louisiana to hear a will read, cast with Paulette Goddard, Douglas Montgomery, Gale Sondergaard plus gag-master Bob Hope to relieve the terrific tension, is guaranteed to keep your nerves on edge. Elliott Nugent's direction takes advantage of all cinematic opportunities for increasing suspense and fear. Afterwards you may resent the tricks and old formula of having the least suspicious character be the murderer, but during the picture you'll probably feel like Bob Hope whose goose pimples have goose pimples.

Or if you prefer the Edgar Wallace type of thing, there is "The Phantom Strikes," based on his novel, "The Ringer." Packed with Wallace clues, inspectors getting into each others' hair, too much very English wordiness, the film succeeds in building up real suspense only in the scene in which the victim, soft-speaking Wilfred Lawson, awaits his forewarned death.

The widely advertised first kiss of Deanna Durbin is really only a reserved peck given by lucky Robert Stack. Its reticence is representative of the problems Producer Joe Pasternak and Director Henry Koster had in finding a vehicle for their charming star, who is no longer a child. However, Deanna again proves her acting and singing ability as she cuts her way through the thick sweetness of the undisguised, undistinguished story, "First Love."

Laurel and Hardy become silly Beau Gestes in their new full-length feature, "The Flying Deuces." The picture has a couple of good laughs in its lighter moments. Yet I found most of the antics quite unfunny; perhaps I'm just not a Laurel and Hardy fan. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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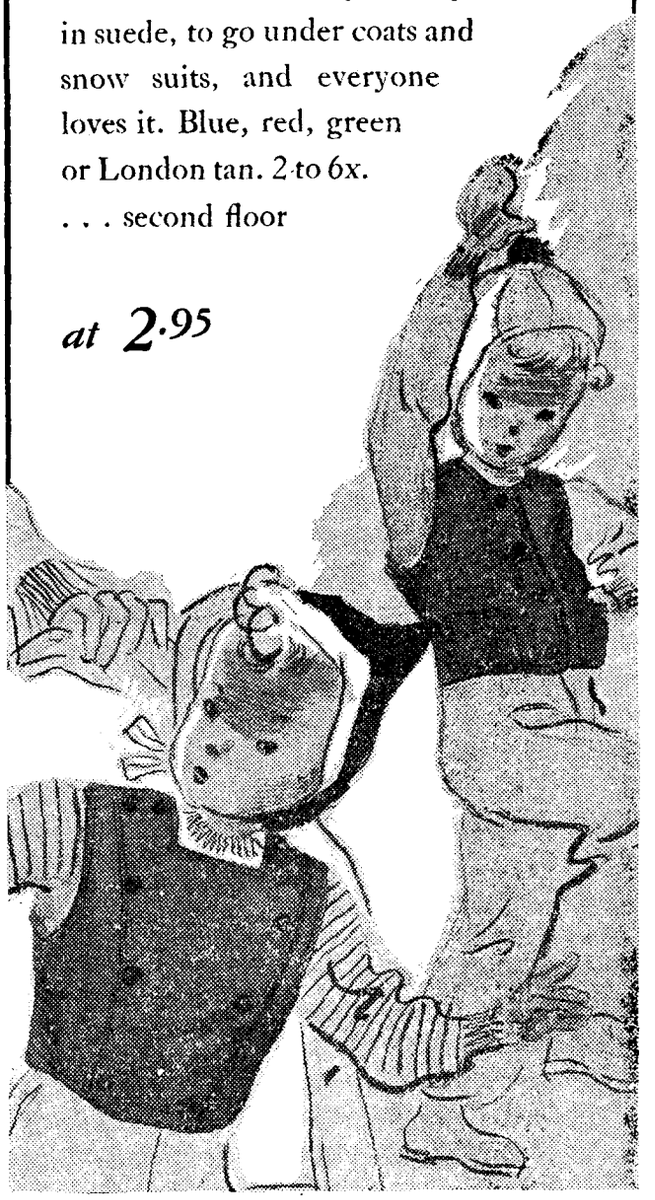

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Books of the Week

An Englishman in Mexico

Mexico: An Object Lesson, by Evelyn Waugh. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

IN MANY RESPECTS, the Mexican proud of his nationality and tenacious of his religion possesses a mentality singularly like that of the traditional Irishman. Battered around and despoiled by ruffians who have managed to get themselves highly applauded outside the country as liberators and uplifters, accused before the world by stupid and malicious critics as the benighted victim of his religious faith and of a bizarre Spanish culture and betrayed by liberal schemers and semi-filibusterers, he has withdrawn into the secrecy of his mind, become cynical of government, pessimistic of betterment, sceptical of well-wishers, and cautious in his confidences. Naïve in some ways, he nevertheless has a national background of four hundred years of growth and glory as well as of confusion and decay, and he may well look upon the inquiring reporter much as the ancient Romans did the ingenuous barbarians of the North.

To have penetrated beneath the outer shell and revealed the mind of the Mexican on his own problems is the distinctive achievement of this book. Mr. Waugh has not contented himself with telling what he thinks Mexico is or should be, for better or for worse, as countless others have done. During his stay in Mexico for the summer and autumn of 1938, he clearly gained the honest confidence of Mexicans and let them tell their own version of events. Combining this testimony with his own observations and a survey of *factual* history, he has brought together for popular reading one of the most reliable and revealing statements of the Mexican case yet produced. In the opinion of this reviewer, "Mexico: An Object Lesson" should be read by everyone who wishes to have a grasp of the facts.

If the book can be said to have a theme, it is this: Mexico's decay, which carries at least a symptomatic threat for the entire world, has "corresponded with an experiment towards 'the Left.'" "The reasons for her decline," it notes with justice, "have been, primarily, moral: the majority of her rulers have not been men of good will and their aims have been purely material; if one starts by assuming that the only real good of which man is capable is the enjoyment of consumable goods—and that has been the assumption of the 'Left' for a hundred years—it is a very easy step—logically an inevitable step—to accumulate the goods exclusively for oneself. Altruism does not flourish long without religion. The rulers of Mexico have almost all started by denying the primary hypothesis of just government." At the same time, in the successive overthrow of existing régimes, as is remarked, the cure was always worse than the ill.

As materially contributing to decay, the disastrous intervention of the "Good Neighbor" is rehearsed, from the time of the first American Minister, Joel Poinsett. Representatives from the United States, at crucial moments of choice between further violent experiment and a return to saner policies, are stated to have lent their influence, wittingly as well as unwittingly, to the disorderly side. This conviction coincides in general with that of Mexicans of all camps and, strangely enough, often with greatest resentment or fear in those sectors which enlisted American support. The ultimate outcome of this policy and of kindred forces the author unequivocally predicts to be the absorption of Mexico into the United States within a hundred years. If this outlook seems surprising or shocking, the pages of the past are instructive; without indulging in the author's fearsome speculations on contemporary world politics, one can go back to the early scheming of such patriarchs of Mexican liberalism as Gomez Farias and to the later overtures of Juarez to the United States whenever he feared his cause was lost.

In addition to the Six Year Plan, now being rushed through by President Cardenas, particularly in its agrarian aspects, a chapter is given to the expropriation of the English and American oil properties in 1938. After a large examination of the history of the case, with emphasis on the positive contributions of the English companies, the author concludes that the Presidential decree is equivalent to a gigantic theft, but that, while further contributing to the national financial embarrassment of the country, it appears to be final, at least until a new régime appears. It is clear that the Church is not the only institution that has been looted in Mexico. The State has also been prostrated by similar measures in the past, and there can be little doubt but that reasons of "public and social utility" will oblige owners of private properties now to relinquish them to the State without indemnity.

If patriotic or social reasons can be advanced as justifying such procedure, the seizure of Church properties in the past with its associated anti-clericalism, the author believes, has been based on the single vice of cupidity. Granting that there was a time when the Church might conceivably profit spiritually by giving up some of its temporal elements and that the administration of its funds might conceivably be entrusted to the efficiency of government hands, he points out that the riches of the Church were simply squandered by the despoilers, who then resorted to the defence of smearing their victim. It seems clear that if the United States had genuinely wished otherwise, the Catholic Church never would have been officially pulverized in Mexico. In spite of every type of legalized disability placed upon the Church by the liberal reformers and their leftist successors, however, a vigorous, if catacombal, development of Catholic resurgence is evident today, among "the only genuinely happy and hopeful people" the author met in Mexico.

Readers of this volume, even those of an entirely sympathetic and favorable approach, will not agree with every statement or evaluation. Some may feel, for example, that the author is unduly harsh in his summary treatment of Hidalgo and Morelos or that, in his criticism of individuals like Ambassador Daniels or of the current American policies, he has failed to give ample appreciation to the human elements and diplomatic considerations or the larger social outlooks that call at times for patience in periods of readjustment. In his discussion of the Church's struggle for existence, he might have given further stress to the pioneer work of Catholic leaders in the field of proposals for agrarian reform and distribution. So far as the spoliation of the Church is concerned, I think it must be admitted that sectarian liberalism and laicism, with their roots in eighteenth century rationalism and their glorification of the state as the sole moral sovereignty, must also be taken into consideration. Future editions of the volume would be improved by an index.

But all in all, Mr. Waugh has done a fine piece of work, badly needed, which may help to straighten out

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much cloudy, unrealistic and harmful thinking on the subject of Mexico. JAMES A. MAGNER.

FICTION

Christmas Holiday, by W. Somerset Maugham. New York: Doubleday Doran. $2.50.

THERE ARE two outstanding notes about "Christmas Holiday"; the flawless surface of the narrative, oiled and polished by one of the few remaining craftsmen in the trade of writing, and the character rigging which is frequently so disguised that one is on the point of being deceived into calling profound that which is merely puzzling. For Maugham has a way of making whatever he says seem more important than it is, just as he has been able to recondition the technique of the old-fashioned romance as a vehicle for his adventures in scepticism and agnosticism.

"Christmas Holiday" recounts the spiritual odyssey of Charley Mason, a typical upper-middle-class Englishman whose family might have been direct descendants of the Forsytes. In Paris Charley meets Simon Fenimore, a former classmate, whose intellectual nihilism and terroristic ambitions shatter his complacency without provoking his thought. Fenimore introduces him to Lydia, a soulful Russian who has become a prostitute to atone for the sins of her husband, Robert Berger, a celebrated thrill murderer whose life she recounts for Charley. It is Lydia who educates Charley out of his old ways of thinking and who unveils the tremendous mysteries of the human personality. When he returns to the safety and banality of home it is with the sense that "the bottom had fallen out of his world." Mr. Maugham would have us believe that the dark emotional forces represented by Simon and Lydia are too much for the simple head of an Englishman whose only standard is convention and whose culture depends essentially upon an assured income.

What makes this simple conflict come alive is not the underlying philosophic criticism of society or of the individuals, but Maugham's deft handling of background and melodrama. Despite the improbability of Lydia and Fenimore as characters, they speak, act and live in the atmosphere of realism. The sights and sounds of Paris linger after the unnatural events of the Berger murder have become blurred. One receives the unfortunate impression that Maugham has become so mature that his work has become rotten.

FRANCIS X. CONNOLLY.

The Witch in the Wood, by T. H. White. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.00.

IF "The Witch in the Wood" is not a spurious book, I shall eat my hat or seek the Questing Beast therein mentioned. That thousands may read Mr. White's new book, as they did his previous "The Sword in the Stone" is possible. Many things are possible.

The book is definitely meant to be funny. It spares no efforts in that direction. It has a toodle-oo type of humor sometimes to be found in the Englishman who has been intellectually arrested on the threshold of the sixth form. Such a person is apt to be bashful in the presence of great literature and may think it best to treat such an uncomfortable matter lightly. So he cracks a tribal joke about the masterpiece, fingers his school-tie and fails completely to understand what is before him. Mr. White in revising the Arthurian material for popular consumption succeeds admirably in completely failing to understand either its spiritual significance or its aristocratic wit. He toodles-oo

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through material that inspired Tennyson (remember him?) and reaches a very high degree of banality.

The reviewer believes he can see a joke as well as the next man. Sir Palomides in the book speaks like Charlie Chan. Velly funny, what? King Pellinore speaks like a monosyllabic hunting squire, what-oh! Saint Torealvac (canonized while still alive) proceeds from heresy to heresy, drinks poteen, is interested in women and tells stories that are supposed to be very Irish and are actually pointless. (I thought at first that their pointlessness might be some form of subtlety. But I'm afraid not.) The most hectic and hilarious section in the book deals with the Questing Beast who falls in love with a sham pantomime beast (Sir Grummore and Sir Palomides disguised as such) and has to be told the facts of life. He has to be told about the bees and the flowers. Velly funny, what?

The jacket of the book states quite frankly that "like its predecessor, it is really indescribable." I would not add to that comment. WILLIAM J. GRACE.

RELIGION

The Catholic Centre, by E. I. Watkin. New York: Sheed and Ward. $3.00.

WHILST neither eclectic nor syncretic in any sense, Catholic Faith represents an organic body of doctrine which embraces all the scattered fragments of truth to be found in human thought. This is the idea which the author wishes to bring home, the full import of which, however, the title of the books fails to suggest. In a very interesting survey of characteristic modern views the author shows how they deviate from the central position and become vitiated by the overemphasis of the partial aspect of a truth which the Catholic synthesis presents in its right perspective and proper balance. Now it is only in the mind of the Church that truth is mirrored with such perfect proportion whereas the individual mind, being an imperfect medium, not rarely gives an ill-focused and distorted reflection. It is thus that heresy sometimes plays the providential rôle of correcting an exaggeration which mars Catholic thinking or practice. From this fatal tendency of the human mind to excess and one-sidedness the need of an infallible judicial authority can be readily inferred. Deeper thinking leads back to the center and viewed from this point of vantage seeming contradictions resolve themselves into harmony. The inadequacy of the individual interpretation should inspire a reasonable diffidence.

In all this the author travels well trodden paths but he illustrates the familiar truth with a wealth of detail that both arouses interest and compels conviction. The book stirs the reader to soul searching questioning.

The reviewer would stress some practical applications to be derived from the inclusiveness of Catholic truth. Controversy should never forget that the error to be combated has a kernel of truth which is so near and dear to the heart of the opponent that it blinds him to everything else. On this precious bit of truth the controversialist will seize and from it build a bridge to its fuller and purer expression in the Catholic deposit. The tiny germ must tenderly be nursed into flowering. Zeal must never carry one to the anomalous position of rejecting the grain of truth together with the falsehood in which unfortunately it has come to be wrapped. Proceeding on these lines, in accord with reason as well as Christian charity, controversy will take on an ironic character and prove far more effective in bringing the erring to a full

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perception of the truth than polemic intransigence, which presumes that the adversary is totally in the wrong and lacking good faith and intellectual honesty to boot. The author points out the right way. C. BRUEHL.

Our Present Discontent, by William Ralph Inge. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.00.

TO WRITE a weekly article for a newspaper must often be an irksome task, but to gather the articles together, as the former Dean of St. Paul's has done once more, is an easy way of producing a book. An introduction, more smoothly written than the articles themselves, is the best part of the volume.

Dean Inge's views, particularly in religion, are hard to classify. He is a modernist, yet he declares that "there can be no reconciliation between Christian theology and American pragmatism"; and he speaks of certain views held in the Church of England as "formally heretical." His hostility to the Catholic Church, which he describes as "a form of dictatorship," is often evident, but he has also some admiring things to say about us. He was, incidentally, wholeheartedly against the "loyalist" government in Spain.

The book's numerous essays cover a wide field. They contain both wisdom and the lack of it, considerable inconsistency and not a little superficiality. One can scarcely regard them as important. T. LAWRASON RIGGS.

SCIENCE

You and Heredity, by Amram Scheinfeld, assisted in the Genetic Sections by Dr. Morton D. Schweitzer. New York: Frederick A. Stokes. $3.00.

THIS IS a valuable book on a fascinating subject. The author has popularized the scentific biology of heredity so well that it is no wonder that he has drawn complimentary criticisms from many men who have a right to an opinion on the subject. The most valuable feature of the book is that in spite of the author's knowledge of so much that has been accomplished in this twentieth century in the field of heredity, he is quite willing to make the sincere confession with regard to many topics, "I do not know."

Probably in no field of biology has there been such a satisfactory accumulation of positive knowledge of heredity as in this generation. Just at the turn of the century biological experts in four different countries discovered in the midst of the complex problems of heredity with which they were occupied definite hints of an important set of principles for the elucidation of the mysteries of heredity. Their studies soon revealed that their work had been anticipated by an Augustinian monk in his little monastery garden, a scant two city lots, in Bohemia. It took the scientific world some thirty-five years to recognize the real significance of the biological investigations of Abbot Mendel. Since the beginning of the twentieth century it is not too much to say that no biological journal has been issued anywhere in the civilized world without some reference to Mendel and his work. Many issues of these journals have been given over completely to the discussion of Mendelism.

This makes an immense literature on the subject of heredity, which has proved confusing to a great many earnest students. The author has summed up this literature of heredity so that it will be easy even for non-scientific minds to grasp what is known about heredity.

JAMES J. WALSH.

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The Inner Forum

IMPRESSIVE CEREMONIES marked the celebration of the golden jubilee of the Catholic University of America in Washington, D. C. Pope Pius delivered his first broadcast in English for the occasion. The hierarchy, clergy and laity participated in the sessions held in the University Gymnasium, the Mullen Library and the Willard Hotel, November 11-13.

It was in 1884 that the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore petitioned the Holy See for the creation of the Catholic University of America. Leo XIII sanctioned this request of the American bishops three years later and approved the Catholic University's constitution and statutes in March, 1889. The first classes opened in November of that year, and for the first six years the university was strictly a divinity graduate school for higher theological research.

During the next quarter century graduate schools of philosophy, letters, physical science and jurisprudence were added. In 1909 the undergraduate department, the college of arts and sciences, was founded there. In 1928 the graduate school of arts and sciences was established. Finally through the Apostolic Letter of Pius XI the schools of theology, canon law and scholastic philosophy were organized in 1931.

A number of religious orders have established houses in Washington affiliated with the Catholic University. Among these are the Sulpicians, the Discalced Carmelites, the Paulists, the Salvatorians, the Viatorians, the Josephites, the Pallotines, the Capuchins, the Marists, the Claretians, the Marians, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the Holy Cross Fathers, several congregations of Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians, the Oblates of Saint Francis de Sales, the Benedictines, the Trinitarians, the Redemptorists, the Passionists, the Christian Brothers, the Resurrection Fathers, the Sacred Heart Fathers and the Servants of Mary.

In the course of his address at the anniversary ceremonies Monsignor Peter Guilday quoted the original definition of the aim of the Catholic University: "The aim of the Catholic University of America is to search out truth scientifically, to safeguard it, and to apply it to the molding and shaping of private and public life. With this aim in view the University imparts, carefully cultivates and promotes learning and furnishes both students and teachers with the means for scientific research and study and so directs them that they may properly fulfil their duties toward God, Church and Country."

CONTRIBUTORS

John CABOT is the pen name of an English Catholic journalist.
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William J. GRACE teaches English at Fordham University.
Rev. Charles BRUEHL teaches at St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. He has recently published "The Pope's Plan for Social Reconstruction."
Rev. T. Lawrason RIGGS is Catholic Chaplain of Yale University.
Dr. James J. WALSH is the author of many books, of which the best known is "The Thirteenth, the Greatest of Centuries."

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